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Message Text

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62/47
ACTION SS-30

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /031 W
---------- 003967
P 041620Z OCT 74
FM USMISSION NATO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 7994
INFO ALL NATO CAPITALS 4456
USDEL SALT TWO GENEVA
USMISSION GENEVA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
USDEL MBFR VIENNA PRIORITY

S E C R E T USNATO 5474

EXDIS

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y -- PARA TWO --

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, NATO, UK, PARM
SUBJECT: CSCE-MBFR LINKAGE

GENEVA FOR USDEL CSCE

REF: (A) USNATO 5399 (B) STATE 214661

SUMMARY: AT OCTOBER 3 MEETING, SPC HELD FIRST DISCUSSION OF U.S. PROPOSAL TO STUDY CSCE-MBFR LINKAGE. ALTHOUGH WITHOUT INSTRUCTIONS FROM GOVERNMENTS, ALLIES WHO SPOKE FAVORED U.S. IDEA, BUT HAD QUESTIONS ON TIMING AND RELATIONSHIP OF STUDY TO EARLIER U.S. SUGGESTION THAT CSCE PACE BE QUICKENED. U.S. REP NOTED THAT U.S. HAD NOT YET MADE UP ITS MIND AND WAS ONLY SUGGESTING THAT ALLIES REVIEW SUBJECT. NEXT DISCUSSION SCHEDULED FOR OCTOBER 18.

END SUMMARY.

1. IN OCTOBER 3 SPC, U.S. REP (PEREZ) OPENED DISCUSSION OF CSCE-MBFR LINKAGE WITH REVIEW OF ELEMENTS OF U.S. STUDY
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PROPOSAL PRESENTED TO THE NAC ON OCTOBER 2 (REF A).

2. ASKING FOR ALLIED REACTIONS, SPC CHAIRMAN KASTL NOTED THAT ALLIES HAD DISCUSSED LINKAGE IN DEPTH FOUR OR FIVE YEARS AGO

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AND A CONSENSUS EMERGED AGAINST DIRECT LIKNAGE OF KEY
DETENTE NEGOTIATIONS BUT WHICH RECOGNIZED THAT SUCH
NEGOTIATIONS WERE LINKED BY AN "INCOMPLETE PARALLELISM".
KASTL ASKED IF ALLIES WERE PREPARED TO STUDY CSCE-MBFR
LINKAGE AT THIS LATE JUNCTURE IN THE GENEVA TALKS WHEN
PROPOSALS HAVE ALREADY BEEN ADVANCED TO DEVELOP WESTERN
POSITIONS THAT WOULD PERMIT A MORE EXPEDITIOUS CONCLUSION
OF THE NEGOTIATIONS.

3. ON THE BASIS OF THOUGHTS WITHIN THE CANADIAN DELEGATION,
BUT WITHOUT INSTRUCTIONS FROM OTTAWA, CANADIAN REP (ROY)
THOUGHT THE U.S. PROPOSAL WAS AN EXCELLENT IDEA. HE NOTED
THAT ALLIES HAD STUDIED THIS SUBJECT IN THE PAST AND THAT THE
SOVIETS HAD PREVIOUSLY REJECTED THE LINKAGE CONCEPT. GROMYKO'S
REMARDS TO SECRETARY KISSINGER INDICATED THE SOVIET POSITION
MIGHT HAVE CHANGED. ROY ASKED,HOWEVER, IF DIRECT LINKDAGE
MIGHT NOT MEAN PLACING ONE OF THE NEGOTIATIONS ON A HIGHER
LEVEL OF PRIORITY THAN THE OTHER, ASKING A "PERHAPS INDISCREET
AND PERSONAL QUESTION", ROY SAID IT HAD BEEN CANADA'S IMPRESSION
THAT THE U.S. WANTED TO MOVE RAPIDLY TOWARD THE CONCLUSION OF
CSCE. IS THE U.S. THEREFORE NOW PREPARED TO DELAY "FOR YEARS"
FOR A SATISFACTORY CSCE OUTCOME?

4. U.S. REP NOTED THAT THE U.S. HAD NOT ADOPTED ANY POLICY
ON LINKAGE BUT WAS ASKING ONLY FOR ALLIANCE CONSIDERATION OF
THE ISSUE.

5. NOTING TRADITIONAL DUTCH SUPPORT FOR "PARALLELISM",
DUTCH REP (BUWALDA) SAID THAT HIS GOVERNMENT HAD ALWAYS
CONSIDERED CSCE AND MBFR AS SOMEWHAT RELATED MATTERS THAT COULD
BE PLAYED ONE AGAINST THE OTHER. HE QUESTIONED WHETHER SUCH
PARALLELISM CONTINUED TO EXIST, HOWEVER, WITH THE GENEVA
NEGOTIATIONS SO FAR ALONG AND WITH SERIOUS MBFR DISCUSSIONS
"BARELY OFF THE GROUND". SPEAKING PERSONALLY, BULWALDA BELIEVED
THE ONLY REMAINING LINKAGE TRADE-OFF POSSSIBLE WOULD BE FOR
THE WEST TO CONCEDE AN EARLY HIGH-LEVEL CSCE STATE III IN EXCHANGE
FOR SOME MAJOR BREAKTHROUGH IN MBFR. SUCH CONCESSIONS WOULD
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DOUBTLESS MEAN LOWERING WESTERN DEMANDS IN BASKET III THERBY
REQUIRING ALLIED GOVERNMENTS TO CONTEND WITH POPULAR AND PARLIA-
MENTARY REACTIONS TO THE ABANDONMENT OF MAJOR WESTERN GOALS.
GIVEN THE ABOVE PROBLEMS , BUWALDA BELIEVED THAT HIS GOVERNMENT
WOULD ACCEPT THE PROPOSED STUDY BUT WOULD NOT WANT TO MOVE
TOO FAR TOO FAST.

6. UK REP (BAILES) SAID UK DELL WAS INTERESTED IN THE U.S.
PROPOSAL BUT SHARED DUTCH VIEW OF PRACTICAL DIFFICULTIES IN
LINKAGE. HMB CONTINUED TO ASSOCIATE ITSELF WITH RECENT
POSITIONS TAKEN BY THE EC-9 ON CSCE TIMING AND CONTENT.
BAILES ASKED IF THE U.S. WAS PROPOSING TO INTRODUCE ITS MBFR
AIR MANPOWER PROPOSALS IN MBFR BEFORE ATTEMPTING TO LINK

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CSCE AND MBFR.

7. FRENCH REP (NARICH) SAID THAT FRANCE WOULD BE PREPARED TO PARTICIPATE IN SPC DISCUSSIONS ON THIS ISSUE BUT FRANCE'S TRADITIONAL REJECTION OF LINKAGE HAD NOT CHANGED.

8. IN RESPONSE TO QUESTIONS ON RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN U.S. MBFR PROPOSAL ON AIR MANPOWER AND LARGER CSCE-MBFR LINKAGE PEREZ NOTED THAT THE U.S. HAD ALREADY MADE A POLICY DECISION ON AIR MANPOWER, SUBJECT TO ALLIED AGREEMENT. U.S.HAD NOT, AS YET, HE REPEATED, ADOPTED A POLICY ONE WAY OR ANOTHER ON CSCE-MBFR LINKAGE.

9. IN CONCLUDING SUMMARY, KASTL REFERRED TO ABOVE POINTS AND NOTED THAT CSCE-MBFR LINKAGE QUESTION WAS RELATED TO GENERAL DETENTE DISCUSSION SOON TO BE UNDERTAKEN BY SPC (SEPTEL). IT WAS AGREED THAT NEXT SPC DISCUSSION OF LINKAGE ISSUE WOULD BE HELD ON OCTOBER 18 AFTER SPC RETURNS FROM TRIP TO U.S. MCAULIFFE

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